

Fig. 1 "The Fifth Department of the New Elysium in Vienna. Representation of the Continent America." Colored lithograph by F. Heinrich (from Daum n.d.). Wien Museum, 54.478. Copyright Wien Museum.

Brazil in Vienna: Encounters with a Distant World

Kurt Schmutzer and Christian Feest

Linda: *Then in Holland we will stay a little at home.*
Quecksilber: *And in Brazil look out of the window.*
(Raimund 2005: 42)

Is it just a coincidence that the Viennese poet Ferdinand Raimund in his comedy *The Barometer Maker on the Magic Island*, written in 1823, specifically used Brazil to represent the Americas in the description of an imaginary trip around the world? Or has something slipped into the literary text, which at that time was very much present in Vienna—the distant country Brazil, which then was indeed connected to Austria in so many ways?

The voyage of the Austrian scientific expedition to Brazil in 1817 was a newsworthy public event. Reports about the activities of its members in that faraway part of the world, which was then almost unknown to most Europeans, were spreading far beyond the small circle of scientists and amateurs interested in natural history. New information and new knowledge about Brazil reached Austria in the letters and reports of the naturalists. Newspapers reported about the undertakings of the travelers, scientific publications provided new insights about the distant country, and finally a museum was opened in Vienna, which had been specifically created to show the collections the Austrians had sent from Brazil.

Especially at the beginning of the enterprise considerable interest in the Brazilian expedition was shown by the press and its readers. Between February and June 1817, the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* [Viennese journal for art, literature, and fashion] published a summary of the travel account by John Mawe (1815, 1816), whose *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* was regarded as the most up-to-date work on this country. The journal presented Mawe's observations on the population, geography, economy, commerce, agriculture, and mining in fourteen installments. The same journal also published an extensive reading list on Brazil.¹ This probably reflects the reaction of the journalists to a demand by their readers for information about the

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¹ *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* 36 (3 May 1817): 297–303.



Fig. 2 Exotic Greenhouse. Watercolor by Johann Carl Smirsch, 1818. In: *Archiv des menschlichen Unsinns. Ein langweiliges Unterhaltungsblatt für Wahnwitzige* [Archive of Human Nonsense: A Boring Entertainment Journal for Lunatics], vol. 2, no. 34 (24 September 1818). Wienbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, H.I.N. 68011/11.

country into which the members of the expedition and “their” Princess Leopoldina were about to travel.

In the following years newspapers continued to play an important role in the diffusion of news about the activities of the naturalists and about their achievements. For those interested in reading about Brazil and the Austrian expedition there was a choice of twenty newspapers and other periodicals (Schmidl 1833: 125), some of which time and again published reports about Brazil. The public interest in the enterprise was kept alive by the media, which also helped to secure the claims of the Austrian researchers regarding the scientific results of their fieldwork.

As soon as the first reports of his naturalists were arriving in Vienna, Karl von Schreibers, the director of the Imperial Cabinet of Natural History, began in January 1818 to publish parts of them in the journal *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* [Patriotic papers for the Austrian empire]. Until the end of 1820, Schreibers had further reports about the expedition printed in the journal. As a consequence of the unexpectedly early return of the first scientists in the fall of 1818, rumors about a failure of the expedition began to spread. Schreibers endeavored to counteract such doubts by publishing the letters of Johann Mikan and Johann Natterer

and the diaries of the gardener Heinrich Schott in 1820 and 1822 in two volumes entitled *Nachrichten von den österreichischen Naturforschern in Brasilien und den Resultaten ihrer Betriebsamkeit* [News of the Austrian naturalists in Brazil and the results of their activities] (Schreibers 1820–1822). Already one year before his return Schott acquainted the readers of the *Medizinische Jahrbücher des Kaiserl.-Königl. österreichischen Staates* [Medical yearbooks of the Imperial-Royal Austrian state] with “New Brazilian plants,” such as the *Besleria grandifolia* Schott named after him (Schott 1820).

Readers were also able to consult the *Österreichischer Beobachter* [Austrian observer], a newspaper published since 1810 and especially devoted to information from abroad. The turbulent conditions in faraway Brazil were attentively watched by the journal, even if the news were reaching Europe only with considerable delay.

The “Archiv des menschlichen Unsinns” [Archive of Human Nonsense], the handwritten weekly journal of the Nonsense Society, whose members included not only artists, actors, and musicians (such as the famous composer Franz Schubert), but also businessmen and soldiers, likewise became infected by the Brazilian fever, or rather – deserving an association that paid homage to the god Insanius – made fun of it. Just as the first returning expedition members were arriving in Trieste in September 1818 the “Archive” included a watercolor supposedly based upon the reports of one of the travelers (Fig. 2). It shows a greenhouse “made to protect the most delicate animals and plants from the most oppressive heat,” in which could be seen “(1) the delectable Diamantia or diamond plant, which produces not only raw jewels, but also finished rings, diadems, and brooches, (2) the mother-of-pearlicana on which are growing the rarest pearls, but which has to be diligently watered as shown in the figure, (3) the sausage palm tree, which is not at all similar to our domestic palm trees, since it has smoked sausages instead of leaves [...], (4) an exotic potato plant whose fruits grow in rows on the leaves, while a red flower encircles the stem, (5) the pisang-like muslin tree, which produces all sorts of muslin cloth used by the negroes for aprons, (6) the Pommeranza nigra, whose large fruits are charred to coal by the great heat. The monkeys have been trained to serve as gardeners just as the bullfinch has been drilled as the valet of the ara.” The bespectacled parrot is thought to resemble Franz Schubert (Steblin 1998: 375–376).

After 1821 Johann Natterer and his hunting assistant Dominik Sochor were the last members of the Austrian expedition to Brazil who had remained in the country. They proceeded to the interior of the country to the remote western parts of Mato Grosso. Even though reports about their activities only infrequently reached Vienna, they were made public, especially in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, which between 1825 and 1831 acquainted the public with excerpts from the letters sent from Brazil in irregular intervals by Natterer. This periodical principally featured reviews of stage performances, literary criticism, poems, and short stories, but also reported about new advances in the various branches of the science and technology. Since there were in Austria at the time only a few specialized scientific journals, newspapers such as the “Theater Journal” provided an opportunity for scientists to reach a wider audience. Thanks to these reports interested readers were able to learn about Natterer’s activities in Brazil, for example, in one of the numerous Vienna coffee houses, where some of the papers were provided free of charge to the customers – if indeed the reports had previously passed the scrupulous inspection by the Imperial censors.

Two Botocudos in Vienna

On 18 October 1821 a short notice in one of Vienna’s newspapers informed the public about the happy return to Vienna, three days before, of Johann Emmanuel Pohl, one of the scientists sent to Brazil. In addition to a caiman, an armadillo, and a whole

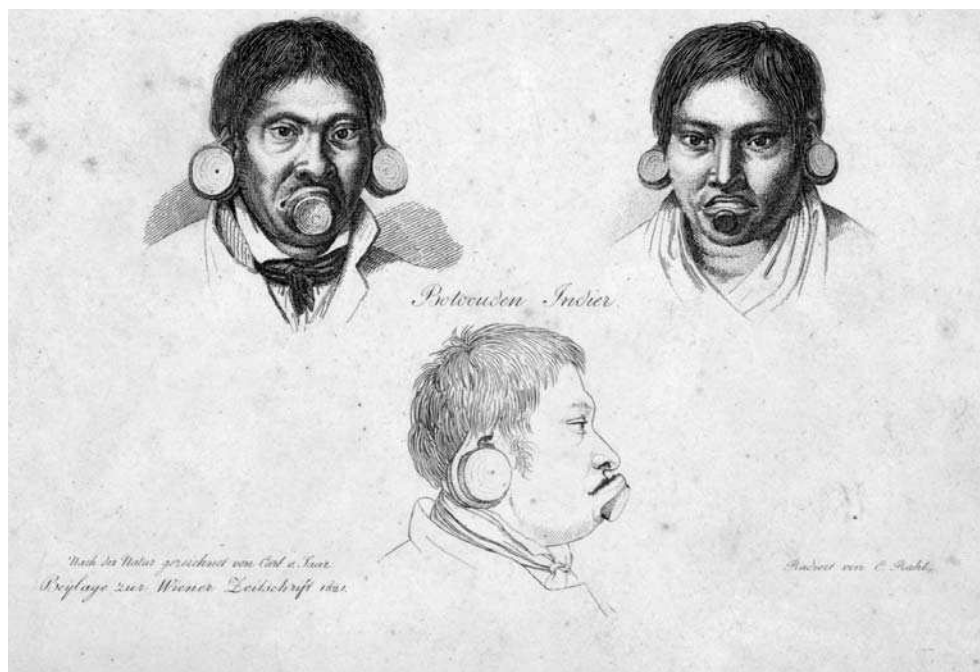


Fig. 3 “Botocuden-Indier” [Botocudo Indians] (João und Francesca). Etching by Carl Heinrich Rahl after a drawing by Carl von Saar. Supplement of the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* 138 (17 November 1821). Weltmuseum Wien, Archiv.

menagerie of other Brazilian animals he had brought with him “two Potokudos, man and woman, together with their child” (*Wiener Zeitschrift* 1821a). These unexpected visitors were to engage the curiosity, but also the empathy of the Viennese for the next two years.

Traveling in the fall of 1820 along the Rio Jequitinhonha in the northeastern part of the present state of Minas Gerais, Pohl had on various occasions encountered Botocudos. But it was only before his departure that an opportunity offered itself in Rio de Janeiro to take two members of this group to Europe. Shortly before, the Portuguese officer Julião Fernandes Leão² had brought 50 Botocudo captives to Rio de Janeiro in order to present them to the King. Pohl obviously did not hesitate to use the opportunity, and the Austrian chargé d'affaires in Rio de Janeiro, Bartholomäus von Stürmer (1821), managed to get the permission to have the two Botocudos “attached to the Austrian transport” by which Pohl returned home. The language used in the negotiations about the two Botocudos was such as if they had been things like the boxes full of specimens of natural history to be shipped to Vienna. After their arrival in Vienna, however, they were clearly treated as persons and individuals, and the reports reveal many details about their personal background and fate.³

The two young persons were called João and Francesca, and it was said that they were 20 and 21 years of age. Reports differ on whether Francesca was the older or the

² The *Wiener Zeitschrift* (1821a: 1167) calls the officer “Julião Fernandes da Leme,” but it must have been Julião Fernandes Leão, the commander of the seventh military district of Minas Gerais.

³ If not indicated otherwise, information about the experiences of the two Botocudos in Vienna has been taken from an account published a month after their arrival (*Wiener Zeitschrift* 1821b), the report of the correspondent of a German newspaper (*Morgenblatt* 1822), who saw them in December 1821, and the reminiscences of a person (probably someone closely associated with the Imperial Cabinet of Natural History, possibly Josef Leopold Fitzinger) (*Theaterzeitung* 1824).

younger of the two, but “both had a much older appearance.” Both were able to speak Portuguese, and contrary to the initial report they were not a couple and not even close friends. João’s “female compatriot ... had left her husband behind” (or had been separated from him), and she was pregnant. Leaving Rio de Janeiro on 16 April 1821 on the British ship “Northumbria” it took them 109 days to get to Amsterdam. The journey was continued to Vienna by coach, where they arrived six months after their departure (*Wiener Zeitschrift* 1821d: 1220). In Mainz, Francesca gave birth to a daughter; since the mother, who showed great sadness at the sight of so many strangers and often spoke about Rio de Janeiro, took little interest in the baby, a nurse was hired to attend to the needs of the newborn child. But Francesca gave her daughter milk from her breasts, which according to the report of a German zoologist “were more of a blunted conical than of a round shape.” By comparison, João appeared to be friendlier, understood the value of money, gave indications “that he was not lacking in reason,” and was even allowed to drive the coach. In Nuremberg, where they stopped on 6 October, if not already on previous stops, they were given a taste of the immense interest and “admiration” they would arouse in Vienna. Their portraits were taken and published as colored lithographs (Wolf 1821: 133–134; Fig. 4).

Immediately upon their arrival in Vienna, “because of their good nature and their decent behavior” (and despite the fact that Leopoldina had written to her father that “he should not trust them”; Bojadesen 2006: 377), Francesca and João were placed “under the Supreme Protection” of Emperor Franz I. Although rumors quickly spread that they were cannibals, they were taken by a horse-drawn carriage to the rooms prepared for them “in the buildings of the Imperial City Garden [...], where they have since been employed for gardening, are of good health and highly content” (Schreibers 1820–1822, 2: appendix 101). This assessment may have been overly optimistic. A later account recalled that João, after trying his hand at gardening, soon became tired of it and refused to do further work, which he probably regarded as unsuitable for a man. Francesca briefly made an effort to learn what were considered typical Austrian women’s handicrafts but also quickly lost interest in such occupations. Her daughter was baptized shortly after their coming to Vienna, was given the name Barbara, but died within a few days.

The “contentment” of the two Botocudos was put to a severe test by the unending throng of visitors crowding into their room to catch a glimpse of the strangers, and they often hid behind the screen separating their beds from the living room to escape the gaze of the curious. But the Viennese appeared to find a way to their heart by bringing along various presents, which were eagerly collected by João and at first put into a small pouch, which he kept under his pillow, and later into a suitcase. Since he knew the value of money, he preferred donations of silver coins, which he subsequently used to buy liquor.

Although the unfounded allegation of cannibalism continued to be repeated by some newspapers, the visitors soon found out that they were completely harmless (except when João got drunk and began to wield his knife at anyone who approached him), and that instead of human flesh they preferred to eat meat and vegetables and to drink beer, not unlike the Viennese. Far more excitement was created by the wooden plugs worn by the Botocudos in their lower lip and earlobes. These “botoques” did in no way correspond to European ideals of beauty, and the Austrian ambassador in Rio de Janeiro obviously expressed a view generally shared by Europeans when writing with regard to the body decoration of the Botocudo, that it was an “unnatural manner in which they disfigure themselves” (Stürmer 1821).⁴ Interestingly enough, not all of the

⁴ In 1823 a diarist compared their mouths to those of monkeys (Paulhart and Wacha 1962: 207).

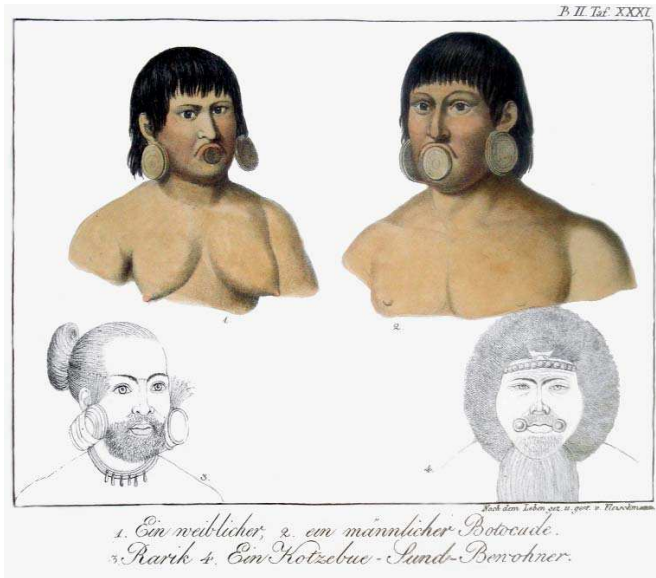


Fig. 4 "1. Ein weiblicher, 2. ein männlicher Botocudo. 3. Rarick 4. Ein Kotzebue-Sund-Bewohner" [1. A female, 2. a male Botocudo. 3. Rarick 4. An inhabitant of Kotzebue Sound]. Hand-tinted etching after a drawing by Friedrich Fleischmann, 6 October 1821.

The images commissioned by the Nuremberg zoologist Johann Wolf were published by him with extensive ethnographic commentaries (Wolf 1821). For comparative purposes, two images of a Pacific Islander and of a North Alaska Eskimo taken from Otto Kotzebue's *Voyage of Discovery in the South Sea* (1821) were added.

Viennese who saw them shared such negative views. "What a nice face!" a young woman is reported to have remarked. "I cannot see anything unusual in it, except for the three little pieces of wood" (Morgenblatt 1822: 96). João quickly learned how to scare away visitors wishing to make a close inspection of his lip plugs by producing a clattering sound by a snapping; when the ladies or gentlemen thus frightened by the noise made their retreat, João had a good laugh.

A month after their arrival the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, the only journal published in Vienna regularly carrying illustrations (usually fashion prints), carried a long story about the interesting visitors. Based on the published evidence, they were said to count among the most savage nations of Brazil and that they were usually subsisting upon the chase as well as fruits of the forest, roots, and climbers. In the general description, the journal made a connection between physical features and cultural conventions with attributions of collective character based on their deviation from the ordinary European way of life: "Moreover, they go around quite naked, have a yellow-brownish skin color, which is even more disfigured by an irregular red and black paint, are of medium size, strong, cunning, cowardly, dirty, and very lazy. Their greatest need is the satisfaction of the stomach; once this is satisfied, they will completely leave themselves to laziness" (Wiener Zeitschrift 1821b: 1168). Their etched portraits, showing them fully dressed, published to accompany this article were in great demand and were also sold separately in hand-tinted versions in shops all over the city (Fig. 3).

The report was typical for the kind of information published in connection with the practice, especially common in the nineteenth century, of displaying persons from various parts of the world to the curious gaze of Europeans. Such displays were generally considered educational, providing an opportunity in the days before worldwide mass tourism and pictorial media to acquaint the public with the physical and cultural diversity of mankind. But such exhibitions of humans were usually also commercial in nature and therefore often had at least some features that can only be regarded as exploitative. With other ethnographic endeavors of the time, such as museums, they shared the tendency to exotify the subject matter by focusing on the most obvious differences from European cultural practices at the expense of placing them within the context of the shared features of humanity. Their lip plugs together with their reputation as fierce

warriors made the Botocudos especially popular in the business of human displays. At the time of the visit of Francesca and João in Vienna, there were at least two commercial shows of Botocudos traveling in Europe (King 1987), in addition to the Botocudo Quäck, who had been brought to Germany by Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied and who lived as a servant in Maximilian's household (see also Sepúlveda 2014). Evidence shows that at least some of the exotic travelers in Europe enjoyed the sensation of seeing other parts of the world and being allowed to demonstrate their traditional culture abroad, when at home they increasingly became of subjects of forced assimilation.

The Baronne du Montet who saw the two Botocudos in Vienna in November 1821 was surprised to find the reputedly naked cannibals dressed in green woolen cloth and eating huge servings of spinach, yet was cautious enough not to approach them too closely for fear of getting bitten (Fisson du Montet 1904: 208).

Notwithstanding the public interest driven by the same curiosity, which allowed shady entrepreneurs to profit from the public display of humans, the experiences of Francesca and João in Vienna were quite different. They lived under the protection of the Emperor in an outbuilding of the Imperial castle, were provided with food from the Imperial kitchen, were at least nominally employed in the Imperial gardens, and were given access to various social activities in the ultimate hope to integrate them into Austrian society. As far as assimilation was concerned, the Imperial Court quickly had to learn that this was impossible without the consent of the Botocudos, who happily adopted European clothing (certainly also to protect themselves against the much colder climate), but who refused to even entertain the idea of conversion to Christianity. They likewise rejected proposals that, since they were sharing a room they should also get married. Francesca said that she thought that João was "don don" or ugly, while João argued that he already had a family and children in Brazil. After João, especially when under the influence of alcohol, began to abuse Francesca, the young man was moved to a different quarter.

One of the attempts undertaken to introduce the visitors to Austrian culture was to take them to the theater. On 26 November 1821 the Botocudos attended a "musical academy" at the Imperial Theater next to the Carinthian Gate in a box in the dress circle, which culminated in a performance of the heroic-pantomimic ballet "Alfred the Great" by Jean-Louis Aumer, and "as observers they amused the spectators. Nothing escaped their eager attention; especially Senhora Francesca displayed a lively interest in everything surrounding her, and by means of the natural expression of her emotions offered to the observer of humans wishing to compare the artful facial expressions of the actors with those of the simple humans in their natural state, an entertaining spectacle" (Wiener Zeitschrift 1821c: 1215). Francesca wore a dress of red merino wool (identified by a Benedictine monk visiting Vienna in September 1823 as a gift of "the Empress," probably Karoline Auguste of Bavaria, the fourth wife of Franz I), a shawl draped over her arm, and "a sort of traveling cap." Both were also taken to the Volkstheater [people's theater] in the suburb Leopoldstadt⁵ to see "Three Adventurers in the Magic Empire," which they enjoyed very much, although theater critics found the play miserable enough (Morgenblatt 1822; Paulhart and Wacha 1962: 207).

By the end of 1821, however, the two Botocudos could also be seen as wax figurines in the cabinet of Johann Georg Dubsy von Wittenau who had recently moved his establishment to the Jägerzeile, near the Prater, Vienna's amusement park. A correspondent for a German newspaper went to see the exhibition on the day on which João and Francesca had been invited to inspect their own likenesses. There was an immense crowd of people looking at both the originals and their reproductions. João

⁵ Ferdinand Raimund, whose reference to Brazil was noted at the beginning, was an actor at the Leopoldstadt Theater at the time of the Botocudos' stay in Vienna.



Große Kunst - Gallerie aus Wien.

Fig. 5 “Great Art Gallery from Vienna,” featuring a group of wax figures representing the meeting between Pope Pius VII and Emperor Franz I in 1819. One of the young women on the right is supposed to represent his daughter Leopoldina. Wax figures of the Botocudos were shown in the same exhibition. From a poster, Berlin, c. 1824. Wienbibliothek, Plakatsammlung, D 64522.

was dressed in a Portuguese uniform, and while neither he nor Francesca appeared to be much impressed by their waxen doubles, the public expressed its friendly interest in the visitors. In 1823/4, Dubsy's cabinet went on a tour through Germany as the “Great Art Gallery from Vienna.” The Botocudos were mentioned specifically in a newspaper account in Leipzig as “the couple of wild Botocudos, who have come to live in Vienna” (*Leipziger Tagblatt* 1823). A poster announcing the showing of this art gallery a little later in Berlin specifies that the “Botocudo couple, faithfully modeled from life, whom Dr. Poll [Pohl] has brought from Brazil to Vienna,” were part of the first group of figures, which also included three famous Tyrolean freedom fighters (Andreas Hofer, Josef Speckbacher, and the Baroness Sternbach), the beloved composer Joseph Haydn, and the philosopher Immanuel Kant. Another group, representing the encounter of Emperor Franz I and Pope Pius VI in 1819, also featured Leopoldina, “now Empress of Brazil,” even though she had not been present at that meeting (Fig. 5).

During the ball season in the winter, João and Francesca were taken to several dance events – much to the satisfaction of the organizers of the balls, because the presence of the Botocudos was still a certain method to draw a huge crowd. It now turned out that the woman was much better able to adapt to the new circumstances. The initial shyness and homesickness gave way to an interest in everything around her and in socializing with the local people. She enjoyed waltzing with whoever cared to ask her for dance, whereas João was silently observing the action from the sidelines. She picked up enough German to engage in conversation and liked to play with children, whereas he hardly understood a word and thus was regarded as stupid by visitors (Paulhart and Wacha 1962: 207). After being separated from João, Francesca had an affair with a soldier and became pregnant. When she said that she would kill the baby after birth, the dire consequences of such an act were pointed out to her, and she desisted from committing the act, but the baby boy died a natural death shortly after his birth.

All these experiences may have contributed to their wish to return to Brazil, almost two years after having arrived in Vienna. One day, when the Emperor (whom the Botocudos called “grande capitane”) was taking his daily walk through the Imperial Garden, he was approached by Francesca who asked him to be sent back home. The wish was granted, but while preparations were made for their return, Francesca “due to her own incautiousness” fell sick and was taken to the hospital, where after a few weeks she died of a lung disease on 10 October 1823. João was called to her deathbed, where he showed little emotion, but promised to relay Francesca's greetings to her father. On 16 November, João departed from Vienna, regretting that he had to leave behind all the things that he had been able to acquire abroad.

Fig. 6 Albert Schindler, "Portrait of the Negro who is in the Service at His Most High Majesty the Emperor as a Gardener." Oil in canvas, 1836. The Art Institute of Chicago (after Markova and Sauer 2011: 96).

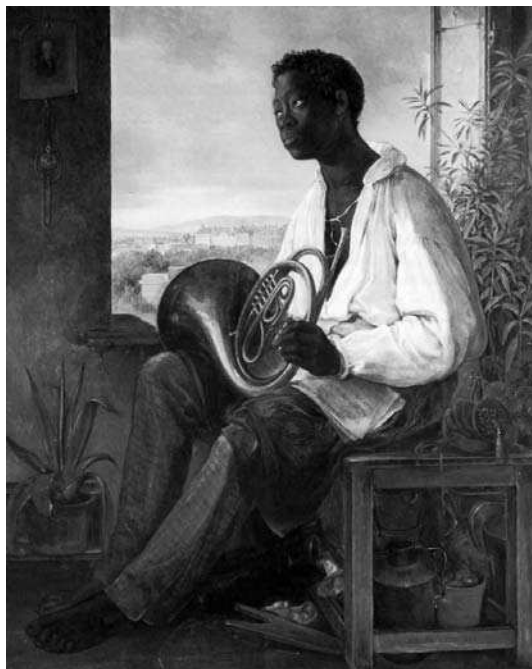
Emmanuel Rio, Gardener and Musician

While the Botocudos received considerable public attention as the only persons of indigenous origin to be seen in Vienna, there was certainly a much larger numbers of Brazilians of African ancestry who came to Austria in the years after the marriage of Leopoldina. Since the African presence in Vienna had a much longer history, they were on longer a prime subject of curiosity and thus left fewer traces in the published record. (Four Africans were even exhibited as stuffed specimens in the Imperial Natural History Cabinet; cp. Sauer 1997: 79–86.) It is said that Prince Metternich, the Imperial Chancellor of State and foreign minister who had masterminded the dynastic bond between the Houses of Habsburg and Bragança, had "ordered" from Brazil two female slaves as domestic servants for his wife (Markova and Sauer 2011: 98, note 13). When Johann Natterer returned from Brazil in 1836 he was accompanied by three former slaves, Laureana, José, and Candido (Sulzbacher 2007: 101); nothing is known of their experiences in Vienna.

We are much better informed about the ultimately tragic fate of Emmanuel Rio⁶ who had been sent to Vienna in 1820 as Leopoldina's "present" either to her brother, the Austrian archduke Franz, or to her father. Upon the arrival of the boy, who was about ten years of age, the Emperor took care of his provision and had him put into a private elite school, where for the next ten years he received high marks for his diligence, moral behavior, and progress in learning French, Italian, drawing, and music. In 1831, at the end of his formal education, Franz I presented him with a French horn made by one of the best makers of musical instruments in Vienna.

Rather surprisingly, however, he was not encouraged to pursue a career as a musician, but – like the Botocudos before him – was employed as a gardener in the Imperial Garden often visited by the Emperor himself. Emmanuel received a board allowance far beyond the salary of a gardener, and it may be imagined that the Emperor's decision was based upon the sentimental desire to have his deceased daughter's "present" in his vicinity.

The happy days for Emmanuel Rio ended with the death of Franz I in March 1835. His portrait, painted at that time by Albert Schindler, an assistant of the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Antiquities, shows Rio sadly looking at a picture of the Emperor and the golden watch suspended underneath, which had been a gift received from Franz I



⁶ The following account is based upon Markova and Sauer (2011).

on the occasion of his confirmation, and holding his French horn. The new Emperor Ferdinand did not share the sentimental attachment to the gardener, and when it was found out that Emmanuel had never been regularly employed in the Imperial Garden but merely been paid out of the former Emperor's pocket, he was sent to Prague to receive further training as a musician at the local conservatory, from which he was dismissed a year later for "lack of progress."

Thus began an odyssey, which returned him once again to work as a gardener first in Prague and later at Schönbrunn Castle, where he caused trouble by engaging in fights with one of his superiors. Having been rejected in 1844 (and thus one year after Natterer's death) as an attendant in the Imperial Cabinet of Natural History by its director, Karl von Schreibers, Rio was moved to the gardens at Laxenburg Castle outside Vienna, where his behavior worsened to the point that he was threatened with forced military service. Disregarding this warning he was sent to Olmütz (Olomouc) in Moravia in 1849 to become a musician in the band of the Corps of Engineers. But the salary was meager and instead of the French horn he had to play the bass tuba. Just as Rio's outbreaks of insubordination now alternated with bouts of depression, the bureaucrats in Vienna were torn between suggesting his dismissal from any kind of public service to repatriating him to Brazil – or Africa.

It is unknown whether any of these suggestions were ever implemented or whether Rio died in the Moravian province. All that is known is that his clothes were sold at a public auction in 1852.

Publications and the Brazilian Museum

While the public focused its attention on João and Francesca, the Austrian scientists began to publish their discoveries in the fields of botany, zoology, mineralogy, and ethnography of Brazil. Johann Christian Mikan's *Delectus Florae et Faunae Brasiliensis* began to appear in 1820 and included the illustration of a monkey collected by Natterer. A few years later, Mikan wrote *Kinder meiner Laune* [Children of my fancy] (1833), which in addition to poems and anecdotes also contained a summary of his visit to Brazil.

Johann Baptist Emanuel Pohl presented the results of his botanical work in Brazil in his two-volume *Plantarum Brasiliae Icones et Descriptiones Hactenus Ineditae* (1827–1831). The publication of his travel account was delayed for financial reasons, difficulties with the publisher, and the author's failing health. The first volume of *Reise im Inneren von Brasilien* [Travel in the interior of Brazil] did not appear until 1832, two years prior to Pohl's death. The unfinished second volume was published posthumously in 1837 (see also Augustat 2014).

Pohl had named some of the genera of plants discovered and first described by him in honor of the Austrian Emperor (*Franciscea*), his wife (*Augusta*), and the heir-apparent Ferdinand (*Ferdinandusa*). It was perhaps also for this reason that in 1829 the Vienna Chinaware Factory produced nine plates for Empress Karoline Auguste, which showed Brazilian flowers rendered after the illustrations found in Pohl's book (Winkler 1996: 117; Fig. 7). These designs remained in production for many years.

Johann Kammerlacher, Leopoldina's personal physician, who had given his own collection of Brazilian insects to the Brazilian Museum and who had also brought to Vienna the material, which the Potsdam botanist Friedrich Sellow had presented to Leopoldina, was able to make practical use of his experiences in Brazil after his return to Vienna. The treatments he had there undertaken "of the fractured legs of negroes [...], in whose households all necessary facilities were lacking," had led him to the development of a new method for the healing of such fractures "without the employment of the heretofore common devices," from which Austrian patients as well should be able to profit (Kammerlacher 1835).



Fig. 7 Plate with a depiction of *Augusta oblongifolia* Pohl, 1838, after the lithograph in Pohl (1828–1836, 2: pl. 103). Museum des Mobiliendepots, Hofsilber- und Tafelkammer, Wien, 180075/097.

The Austrian interest in Brazil may also help to explain why five years after its first publication Maximilian Prince of Wied's *Travel to Brazil in the years 1815 to 1817* was reprinted in Vienna (Wied 1825–1826). The same year saw the publication in Florence of *Plantarum Brasiliensium Nova Genera* by Giuseppe Raddi (1825) who had gone to Brazil with the Austrian expedition but had separated from them to pursue his own studies.

Even prior to Natterer's return to Austria, Karl von Schreibers (1833) had made an effort to begin with the publication of the animal species newly discovered by the zoologist. Of this work, however, only a first installment of four pages was ever printed.

In the years preceding his premature death in 1843 Natterer himself was unable to complete more than two scientific papers relating to his zoological research in Brazil. Both his account of the lungfish *Lepidosiren paradoxa* (1840a), which he had discovered, and his "Contributions to a Better Knowledge of the South American Alligators" (1840b) were finished in cooperation with the Viennese zoologist Leopold Joseph Fitzinger and published in the short-lived *Annalen des Wiener Museums für Naturgeschichte*. In the case of the lungfish, Fitzinger provided the first published description (1837) and thus became immortalized in the taxonomic designation *Lepidosiren paradoxa* Fitzinger. Similarly, Gould's toucanet (*Selenidera gouldii*) was discovered by Natterer but named after the British naturalist who had first brought Natterer's discovery to the attention of the public (Natterer 1837). Natterer at least lived to see the publication of the fishes he had collected in Brazil (Heckel 1840).

The Viennese, however, did not have to rely upon books to acquaint themselves with the Brazilian animal kingdom. In the Schönbrunn Zoo, established in 1752 next to the Imperial palace, the public was able to marvel at an impressive number of mammals, birds, and a yacare caiman. Many of these animals had apparently come to Vienna with the first shipment from Brazil in November 1818, which included live animals as gifts for Leopoldina's father, the Emperor; others had accompanied Johann Emanuel Pohl on his return to Vienna. Smaller mammals, birds, and reptiles were also kept in the menagerie on a terrace of the Natural History Cabinet and in the menagerie in the Burggarten, a garden adjoining the Imperial castle in the city (Fig. 8). Of the 29 species of monkeys living in Vienna in 1823, ten were from Brazil, of birds there were 22 species. The five Brazilian predators (*Carnivora*) included the opossum *Didelphys quica* Natterer, named after the inveterate collector, whereas the two jaguars (*Felis onça*) were part of the present sent by Leopoldina (a jaguar baby born in the zoo in



Fig. 8 “*Didelphys cancrivora* [Quica Natt.]. 1819 sent by Natterer. Kept in the menagerie of the Natural History Cabinet.” Drawing by Michael Sandler. Naturhistorisches Museum Wien, Wissenschaftsarchiv. While it was said of *Didelphys cancrivora* that “this animal likes to drink brandy, is very lazy, walks slowly, comes often into the houses, kills chicken” (Pelzeln 1883: 109), the specimen of *Didelphys Quica* kept in the Natural History Cabinet apparently made itself useful as a newspaper carrier or office messenger.

1820 had died after a few days). The spectacular armadillo (*Dasypus setosus*) had been contributed by Pohl (Schreibers 1820–1822, 1: 46–51; Fitzinger 1823; Blaas 1964: 26; Wolf 1821: 129–130; Pelzeln 1883: u.a. 48, 101, 109, 110; Riedl-Dorn 2000: 34, 36; Bojadsen 2006: 376–377).

Anybody taking a walk through the city of Vienna during the years of Natterer’s sojourn in Brazil was able to find in the very heart of Vienna the house, which between 1821 and 1836 became the center of all activities related to the Austrian expedition to Brazil: the Brazilian Museum.

There was not enough space in the Imperial Natural History Cabinet in the Imperial Castle to accommodate the sizable botanical, zoological, mineralogical, and ethnographic collections sent by the Austrian scientists (and, in the case of Natterer, continued to be sent) from Brazil. In April 1820 Karl von Schreibers rented the third floor of the Harrach Palace on Johannesgasse 972 (today, Vienna 1, Johannesgasse 7), which also housed the “Mummies Cabinet,” featuring “many Egyptian antiquities,” belonging to the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Antiquities. Here the Brazilian Museum featuring all the shipments arriving from overseas was installed and finally opened in 1821.

A review published in 1823 in the highly respected scientific journal *Isis* praised the founding of the museum in the highest terms. The reviewer commended the expedition for the “large number of things newly discovered, which are enriching the sciences,” and the museum for offering the opportunity for comparative studies and for providing “an idea of the character of nature of such a remarkable country” as Brazil. In an international perspective, the likes of the Viennese collections “are unlikely to be found anywhere outside Paris” (*Isis* 1823b: 714; see also *Isis* 1823a).

A look at the museum from an ordinary visitor’s point of view is provided by another review in a German journal. The rooms were said to be elegant and tasteful and filled with manifold specimens in a systematic manner, “as far as order and convenience

would permit.” There was no need for a guide since “all the objects were clearly and exactly labeled.” This is especially obvious from the reviewer’s description of the ethnographic display, which takes up almost half of his account (Morgenblatt 1825).

The presence of new animal species, not yet described by science, was indeed enormous. At the height of its collecting activities around 1830, the Brazilian Museum had on display 144 species of mammals, about a third of which was new and not yet described. In addition there were to be seen 970 species of birds (250 of them new), 167 species of reptiles (about 60 new), 256 species of fish (about 100 new) and more than 8000 species of insects (about 4000 new), as well as a collection of endoparasites from more than 1000 different species of animals (Schmidl 1833: 163–168). Thus, at the Tenth Assembly of German Scientists and Physicians held in Vienna between 18 and 27 September 1832, the Brazilian Museum, which on three days was opened exclusively to the participants of the congress, was one of the main attractions (Wiener Zeitschrift 1832, Isis 1833).

Initially the interest in the Brazilian collections was overwhelming. While the visiting hours for the general public were on Saturdays between 9 o’clock in the morning and noon, “scholars, experts, individual friends of the sciences, and foreigners” were admitted at any time, provided they had made arrangements with the curators. Tickets were sold by the museum’s director, Johann Emanuel Pohl, who also had his official residence on the second floor of the building (Fitzinger 1856–1868, 3: 34–35; see also Schmidl 1833: 173; Weis 1832: 29–30).

In addition to laboratories and storage rooms, there were thirteen exhibition halls. The largest amount of space was given to the zoological specimens displayed in seven rooms: one for the mammals, three for the birds, and one each for the reptiles and fish. In the seventh room were shown the insects, arachnids, mollusks, endoparasites, and animal crania. The botanical section occupied three rooms, and another two were devoted to the mineralogical collection. The ethnographic material was presented in a special room between the zoological and the mineralogical-botanical collections. By 1830, the museum was able to display in large wall cases with glass doors “weapons and implements” of 35 different Brazilian ethnic groups (plus five from the adjoining parts of Spanish America); by 1835, there was an increase of another “500 objects from 32 peoples” (Schreibers in Schmidl 1833: 162–170, 1837: 182–193; Fitzinger 1856–1868, 3: 32–35).

The Brazilian Museum also featured 567 drawings of “the landscapes and views of regions, cities, dresses, and costumes recorded and sketched ... by the most praiseworthy landscape painter Thomas Ender” (Schreibers in Schmidl 1837: 193; see also Wagner 1994, Wagner und Bandeira 2000). Other than the natural history and ethnographic exhibits removed from their original contexts, Ender’s drawings conveyed an impression of the natural conditions of the country and of the bustle in its cities (Fig. 9). The same room also featured several thousand drawings of plants collected in Brazil, which Michael Sandler had made under the supervision of Pohl.

In the course of the years the interest in the Brazilian Museum gradually declined. The death of Empress Leopoldina in 1826 resulted in the loss of an important link between Brazil and Austria. Letters from Johann Natterer arrived in Vienna so infrequently, that he was almost considered missing. Emperor Franz I did not live to see the return of the last of his naturalists remaining in Brazil. After the death of the Emperor in 1835 the Brazilian Museum was closed. When Natterer finally returned to Vienna in 1836, he came just in time to see the museum being dismantled and had to assist in the transfer of the natural history objects to the Imperial Cabinet of Natural History.

The ethnographic collection was moved to the so-called *Kaiserhaus* (Emperor’s House, then Ungargasse 389, today Vienna 3, Ungargasse 67–69/Juchgasse 2), where Natterer was entrusted with the installation of a separate “Imperial-Royal



Fig. 9 Thomas Ender, "Marktplatz am Seestrande hinter dem Mauthof/:Alfandega:/" [Market on the seashore behind the toll house /:Alfandega:/]. Pencil wash on paper, 40.2 x 51.5 cm. Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna, K 13.613. E 6.88. F 57.

Ethnographic Museum." Here the Brazilian material was displayed in seven halls (Fig. 10), but it was closed to the general public. "Individual foreigners and small groups" who nevertheless wanted to have a glimpse of these rarities had to apply for this privilege to Johann Natterer, who was charged with the supervision of the museum (Hebenstreit 1840: 178–179).

Even before the installation of the non-American collections could be started, the building had to be vacated again in 1840. All of the ethnographic material was removed to the Augarten, an Imperial garden outside the city limits, whence they were first taken in 1847 to the "Modenserhaus" on Herrengasse, and afterwards to the "humid, damp" coach house of the Imperial castle on Josefsplatz, where they survived unharmed the fire of 1848, to be finally deposited in 1850 in the attic of castle (Fitzinger 1856–1868, 2: 69f.; Heger 1908: 3, 10). Thus, the ethnographic collections of Natterer and his colleagues were hidden from public view until their "rediscovery" in 1876 or rather until the opening of the new Imperial Museum of Natural History in 1889 (see Feest 2014).

Entertainment

Another painter who had traveled to Brazil in the company of Leopoldina was showing his works outside the Brazilian Museum. Franz Josef Frühbeck, an adventurous shop clerk without academic training as a painter, had succeeded in gaining employment as an assistant to Leopoldina's librarian, Rochus Schüch, and thus was permitted to embark upon the voyage to Brazil on the "Dom João VI" in August 1817. When he



Fig. 10 Case 5 of the Imperial-Royal Ethnographic Museum prominently displayed two Ticuna mask costumes, flanked by trumpets and other objects from the Baniva and from the Uaupés region. Anonymous watercolor drawing, 1838–1840. Weltmuseum Wien, Bildarchiv.

returned to Vienna in October 1818 he carried with him a number of drawings of Rio de Janeiro and of the voyage, but rather than capitalizing on this asset, he married and settled as a merchant in Krieglach in Styria. In 1829, however, he reappeared in Vienna and advertised in newspapers and on a poster a “here never before seen great optical cabinet voyage to Brazil in South America” (Fig. 11). The exhibition was shown in the House of the Brown Stag on Rotenturmstrasse and included twelve pictures relating to his voyage and sojourn in Rio de Janeiro of more than a decade ago. The show was apparently successful enough for Frühbeck to offer in April 1830 an enlarged version at the same location, but now in five, rather than three rooms, and featuring 12 additional pictures. Some of these (such as “Moonlit Night and Supper of the Puris in their Woods”), could not have been based on his own observations, but had been adapted from the published works of others. The second exhibition was accompanied by a booklet entitled *Skizze meiner Reise nach Brasilien* [Sketch of my voyage to Brazil], which also included an explanation of the pictures (Frühbeck 1829, 1830, Smith und Ferrez 1960; see also Corrêa do Lago 2009: 51). In the fall of 1830 Frühbeck exhibited ten of these pictures in Munich and Augsburg in Bavaria (*Münchner Politische Zeitung* 1830, *Neue Augsburger Zeitung* 1830).

At the same time the Botocudos made an unexpected return to Vienna. Around 1830 their wax figures were displayed in another “Art Gallery” in the Prater, Vienna’s amusement park, where they stood alongside a couple of “national Styrians, a Wallachian peasant couple, the two sleeping sisters, and Lot and his two daughters.” Rather than being dressed in European fashion as they had walked the streets of Vienna in the early 1820s, they were now wearing unlikely costumes “made of ostrich feathers, which are common in their country.” The poster, which features their images (Fig. 12), remarks upon their custom of wearing lip plugs and ear plugs, provides measurements of their mouths and ears, and gives the man’s age as forty years (rather than as twenty in 1821).

Even after the closing of the Brazilian Museum, the history of the expedition to Brazil and the recollection of this country once so important to Austria did not completely disappear from the imagination of the Viennese. In March 1840 – at about the same time when the exhibition closed at the “Emperor’s House” – the confectioner Josef Georg Daum (1789–1854) opened an establishment for the entertainment of the public called “The New Elysium.” Several rooms in its basement, where customers were invited to entertain themselves, were decorated to represent the four continents.

[illegible]

The design of the American rooms was clearly dominated by Brazil. The guests found themselves sitting at small tables in front of a plantation house, surrounded by palm trees and banana plants populated by parrots and monkeys, and lit by gas light lanterns in the shape of giant snakes, lizards, and bats (Fig. 1). A horse-drawn railroad provided the opportunity to undertake a trip, which led past New York and the Chimborazo until after a triple waterfall one could admire “the skill of an Indian from the Caboclo tribe to shoot birds in flight while reclining on the ground, and the manner in which the Botocudos were killing jaguars” (based on Debret’s *Voyage pittoresque*). From there the railroad took the visitors “to the Brazilian coast, past Bahia (or San Salvador) and to the entrance of the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, where to the left the Sugar Loaf Mountain, the fortresses Praya-Vermelha, Santa-Cruz, and in the background Ilya do Lago Villegagnon presented themselves to the view, and to the right the Pico. Here the rail carriage passes through a grotto through whose openings one can have a perfect view of Rio de Janeiro, once again with a live waterfall and offering a glimpse of the Imperial pleasure palace San Christofano” (Daum n.d).

Kurt Schmutzer and Christian Feest



Fig. 12 The Botocudos as wax figures dressed in ostrich feathers. From a poster advertising an "Art Gallery" of 70 wax figures, Vienna, c. 1830. Wienbibliothek, Plakatsammlung.

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